5:3Huntingford E-5 (1938-1939) 1954 FLA Dorobo FLA

623 [987] [361] live under such conditions as the Dorobo. The dense forest, crossed by a path only at one corner, the scattered groups of huts each in the old days shut off from the next by a wall of trees, and the precarious hand to mouth existence of a hunting economy, all operate against the spending of much time in meeting others away from home merely to talk. And so the council was a more serious affair and held only when necessary; moreover its seriousness was emphasized, in the case of the clan council, by the provision of honey-wine so that it became a social as well as an administrative institution.

623 691 Though Dorobo had their quarrels and disputes, they were not cattle men, and so were saved from one of the commonest causes of litigation in Africa, disputes over stock ownership and inheritance, which can occupy so much of the time of a pastoral tribe. The possessions of a Dorobo — his bow, his knife, his honey-barrels — do not reproduce themselves, and his bees and dogs, important as they are, have not the same significance as cattle when questions of inheritance are raised.

4. Crime and its Results

681 When a man had heard the decision of the council go against him, and knew that he should do this or that, did he always do it? As often as not, I believe, he obeyed because he felt the force of public opinion. Africans are very sensitive to what their own people think of them, and as a last resort the elders could call on the young men, the *murenik*, to enforce their decisions. If a man, knowing that he had to pay an ox as compensation, persisted in his failure to produce the animal, two or three *murenik* could be sent by the council to persuade him by moral or if necessary physical force to obey. But in a small community like that of the Dorobo a man just could not afford to have everybody's disapproval or resentment directed against him; and the strength of public opinion as an incentive to obey orders is very real. It is a strong element in tribal cohesion. Moreover, behind it is the fear of the spirits, to which we shall return later on.

674 693 Crimes and offences for which some form of action is taken fall into two categories, public delicts, or crimes against the horde as a whole, and private delicts, or offences against individuals. The former are the more serious, since their commission may affect not only the offender, but also

674 others with whom he is connected. Such crimes include incest, intercourse with a clanswoman, killing a clansfellow, witchcraft, killing an enemy (but see below), and disobedience to the council. These crimes are "public" because their commission is regarded as likely to affect others besides the criminal. Incest and intercourse with a clanswoman (equivalent to incest) are displeasing to the *ceuwiki*, the spirits, and unless appropriate action is taken, the people may suffer. Murder of a clansman, though in one sense a private delict, is really to be classed among public delicts because it strikes at the foundations of horde unity, the clan. And though killing an enemy is not in itself a crime, it nevertheless brings the killer into the same state of danger to himself and others as killing a Dorobo, and thus necessitates ceremonial cleansing.